

"Votes for Women," December 31, 1915.

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The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. IX. (Third Series), No. 408.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)
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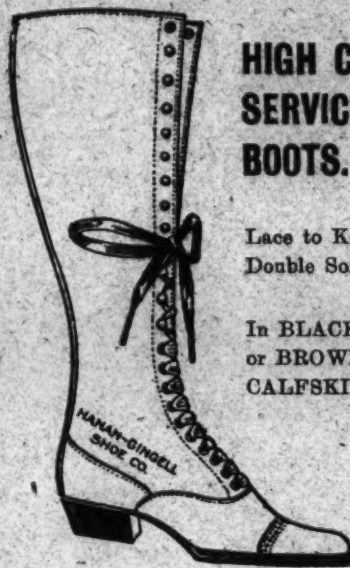
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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

At the close of one of the most tragic years in the history of mankind we wish to all our readers a lightening of the tragedy in the coming year, a victory for democracy and freedom all the world over, and a Peace that shall be lasting because it has sprung from the united counsels of men and women.

Last Week in Parliament

On Thursday, December 23, Parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and will reassemble next Tuesday, January 4. The chief events of the week were the passage on Wednesday of the Parliament and Registration Bill, without further amendment, through the House of Commons, and its first reading in the House of Lords; and the postponement of further proceedings on the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill, until after the Christmas holidays. On the day of adjournment the Prime Minister made a statement, as vitally important to women as to men, of the total British losses up to December 9. These he gave as 528,227, of whom 119,923 were killed, 338,758 wounded, and 69,546 missing.

The Nurses' Trek of 300 Miles

Not the least dramatic incident of the war has been the retreat from Serbia of nurses belonging to the Scottish Women's Hospital and Mrs. Stobart's Hospital, several of whom arrived in London last week. Forced to retire before the oncoming Bulgarian army, they made the great trek of 300 miles across the Montenegrin mountains, through a blinding blizzard, often without food, with their clothes in rags, and sleeping when they could. It took them seven weeks to struggle through to Skutari and safety. It is impossible to read of the bravery, the endurance, and the initiative of these women, who had gone out to Serbia to save life, without realising afresh that where war makes great demands and involves great sacrifices, women are as ready and able as men to do what is expected of them.

Married Women's Labour

In view of the prejudice which has existed in the past against married women's labour, it is enlightening to read in the *New Statesman*, in an article called "The Replacement of Men by Women," that in order to save the financial situation, now imperilled by the withdrawal of men from industry, the services of married women must be obtained. It adds:—

The manufacturers will have to bestir themselves and make the necessary adjustments in their factories; the Government will have to wake up and face the situation, and tell the married women that their labour in the factories is essential to the safety of the country.

We, of course, who have always held that the married woman has as much right to work for wages as anyone else (a position, we believe, not contested by the *New Statesman*), have nothing to say against their employment in war time. But when the Government make their appeal, as our contemporary suggests, we would remind them that in peace time as well as war time women's labour "is essential to the

safety of the country," and demands the same political safeguards as men's labour.

Items of Interest

Suffragists, as well as those who have enjoyed the many witty stories by Martin Ross and E. A. Somerville, will greatly regret to hear of the death of the former of these two writers, Miss Violet Martin. She was a Vice-President of the Munster Women's Franchise League, and a member of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and, like her collaborator, a firm believer in women's freedom.

The Federal Amendment to remove the sex bar to voting was introduced into the Senate of the United States Congress on December 7, and into the house on December 6.

Miss Augusta Umanski is the first woman to gain the double degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery at Leeds University.

A war bonus of 5s. a week is to be given to the women clerks of the Metropolitan Water Board, who are now earning £78 to £104 a

year for doing the work of men who used to get £110 to £260.

The London County Council Education Committee, while reporting against the suggestion that boys from 13 to 14 should be absent from school in the mornings to work for shopkeepers, reported in favour of a relaxation of the law in order to allow children to be employed out of school hours for 4½ instead of only 3½ hours a day.

Women lamplighters are now being employed by the Corporation of Chester.

At the monthly meeting of the Anthracite Miners' Association it was resolved to protest against the employment of women above ground at the collieries, because "the surroundings were unsuited to feminine labour." It is terrible to think that the women have to live with the men who form part of these surroundings!

We understand that the L.C.C. proposes shortly to employ women gardeners temporarily in the London parks, their pay to be the same as that of men temporary under-gardeners. We conclude the women gardeners to be taken on will therefore be only "under" gardeners.

A REMARKABLE BOOK*

"In this book," as the author's note informs us, "the story of women's industrial employment is traced from the scanty information of mediæval times, through the great crisis of the industrial revolution down to modern capitalistic industry. . . . The author has aimed at description rather than theory."

The result is an extraordinarily interesting volume, which no one interested in social reform, and least of all a Suffragist, can afford to miss. The first five chapters, forming the major part of the book, were written before the war; but as they are mainly historical, their value is in no way impaired by subsequent events. If one fact stands out clearly above all others, it is that, in the author's own words:

The women of the industrial classes have always worked, and worked hard. It is only in quite modern times, so far as I can discover, that the question whether some kinds of work were not too hard for women, has been raised at all.

It might certainly be painful, one feels, to some gentle pre-Raphaelite, to learn that two dames of the fifteenth century, the wives respectively of the smith and foreman at an iron foundry, "performed miscellaneous tasks, from breaking up the ironstone to blowing the bellows," but it is a fact for all that; and their case was by no means an unusual one. There is a certain grim irony, too, in the statement that at the present day the rougher and heavier and more unpleasing kinds of factory work are apt to devolve upon married or widowed employees; raising once more the curious problem why marriage is held to disqualify a well-to-do young woman from the strenuous athletic exercises of her youth, and is at the same time supposed to endow her poorer sister with iron nerves, the muscles of Hercules, and infinite powers of endurance.

Miss Hutchins dwells, perhaps rightly, chiefly upon woman's employment in the textile industries (so does Mr. J. J. Mallon, in an interesting incorporated chapter upon women's wages in the Board of Trade Wage Census of 1906); and she mentions in her introductory note that she has only touched very lightly upon the question of domestic employment. Personally, I think the latter point is rather to be regretted; for it is an undeniable fact that this great morass of domestic service, unskilled, unorganised, atrociously ill-paid, and open to every woman not actually bedridden or imbecile, as a last resort, has a very important and significant bearing upon the whole question of women's work and wages. A more startling omission is that of any reference to the position of women in modern agriculture; but perhaps this complex question would require a volume to itself.

The account of the gradual rise of the

* "Women in Modern Industry." By B. L. Hutchins. (London: George Bell. Price 4s. 6d.)

Woman's Trade Union movement is extremely interesting; and it is noteworthy that Miss Hutchins appears hopeful of the commonly despised powers of feminine organisation.

The Women Unionists, who have long been taxed with apathy and lack of interest in their Trade organisation, are drawing from the women's movement a new inspiration and enthusiasm. The woman herself is beginning to think. Nothing else at long last can really help her; nothing else can save us all. There are now an increasing number of women workers who do not sink their whole energies in the petty and personal. They are able to appreciate the newer wants of society, the claim for more leisure and amenity of life, for a share in the heritage of England's thought and achievement, for better social care of children, for the development of a finer and deeper communal consciousness.

And if you would seek a proof of this, here is one, most eloquent and most pathetic; the poor chainmakers at Cradley Heath, after their first strike in 1909, found that "there was a substantial remainder left over from the money subscribed to help the strikers. They did not divide this money amongst themselves, but built a Worker's Institute."

The final chapter of the book, dealing with the actual and probable effects of the war upon the employment of women, is admirable in its clear-sighted common sense and strict regard for proved facts. Miss Hutchins sees—

little ground for hoping that the war will of itself lead to social measures of reconstruction. Class domination, the rule of the strongest, and the idealisation of brute force, are not peculiar to Germany. . . . It is significant that the war was quickly seized as a pretext for suspending the protection of the industrial workers by the State, and for relaxing the Education Acts, which normally interpose some hindrance to the exploitation of children by the capitalist employer. . . . There are signs that a deeper and more intimate consciousness of society as a whole may operate in favour of women. . . . The needs of the woman and the young child have been at last recognised as vital, however inadequate the measures taken to meet them have so far been.

Miss Hutchins speaks with high approval of the prompt measures taken by the Suffrage Societies and the Central Committee on Woman's Employment to grapple with the unprecedented and unexpected problems of unemployment last year; and hopes that these may provide valuable hints for a greatly extended scheme in the inevitable lean years to come. Writing as she does purely of hard facts, and avoiding theory, Miss Hutchins carefully refrains from expressing any direct opinion upon the political side of the woman's movement; but again and again it is proved how intimately this is bound up with the labour question, and how all progress towards a better condition of things must come (like Fra Lippo Lippi's progress in Art)—"Each foot in turn, left foot and right foot, go a double step!"

T. O'M.

THE STORY OF THE YEAR

Suffragists have cause to look back over the year 1915 with mingled feelings. While the sense of tragedy, of waste, and of destruction will predominate in their minds, they also have reason to count gains as well as losses, and are able to chronicle many a step forward in the woman's movement that will compensate in some measure for the temporary pause on the political side of the Suffrage agitation. The year closes, as it began, with Europe still at war; but the Greater War still goes on everywhere against tyranny, poverty, and oppression, and in that war we have won some victories.

Women Under the Defence of the Realm Act

There was a political lull when the year opened, Parliament standing adjourned, although the House of Lords reassembled on January 6, mainly as a protest against the lengthy adjournment of the House of Commons. But there was no lull in the operation of the Defence of the Realm Act against women, or in other curtailments of their liberties. Thanks to the action taken by Suffragists, and mainly to the Cardiff campaign of the United Suffragists, the Commanding Officer of that district withdrew the order against prostitutes early in the New Year, and those who had been court-martialled and sentenced to sixty-two days' detention for being found out of doors after dark, were released. At the same time, the order restricting the hours in certain districts during which women might obtain intoxicating drink, continued in force, and has, indeed, never been repealed, although it became absorbed in the later Drink Order enforced in some districts against both sexes.

Standing Up for the Soldier's Wife

To protest against insults to soldiers' wives and relatives, and against attempts to revive the C.D. Acts, an enthusiastic joint demonstration was held by the United Suffragists, East London Federation, Women's Freedom League, and Northern Men's Federation, in Trafalgar Square, on Sunday, January 24, when resolutions condemning such reactionary measures on the part of the Government and military authorities were passed with acclamation by dense audiences, composed largely of men in uniform. This demonstration was followed up by the U.S. with similar meetings in Manchester, Edinburgh, Chesham, and Chorley Wood. A deputation to the War Office, in which the U.S. were represented by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, was sympathetically received; and there is no doubt that the whole agitation in defence of "the women they've left behind them" warned the authorities that women relatives of the men in the King's forces were not to be lightly treated.

Women and Peace

Early in the year, the feeling that no permanent peace would ever be secured in Europe unless women were allowed a voice in the Peace Settlement at the end of the present war, gained ground rapidly. The announcement made by Mr. Asquith on the reassembling of the House of Commons on February 6, that the Government meant to take all the time of the House, and that no contentious legislation would be introduced, was held to preclude the possibility of the third passage of the Plural Voting Bill, but did not, in the minds of a large number of Suffragists, rule out the possibility of the removal of the sex bar in political representation, especially at a time when only non-party legislation was eligible for discussion. They therefore announced and held a packed and successful meeting at the Kingsway Hall, on February 25, at which the speakers were Mrs. Agnes H. Harben, Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Miss May Whitty, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. H. W. Massingham, unfortunately prevented by ill-health from speaking, sent a strong message to be read out at the meeting, expressing his full agreement with the resolution to be passed, and saying, "Another such war we must never have.

Let us build against it, and the consequent ruin of civilisation, the strong fortress of Votes for Women." The resolution ran as follows:—

That this meeting is profoundly convinced that the basis of peace at the end of the present war, in common with all domestic and international affairs, cannot be satisfactorily settled while women are excluded from the rights of citizenship; and accordingly it demands that the Government take advantage of the present party truce to carry into law a non-party measure for women's enfranchisement.

It was passed unanimously.

Women's Peace Movements

Following upon the Kingsway Hall meeting, a Conference was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on March 22, to consider "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement in its Relation to War and Peace," at which the speakers included the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Orchard, Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Bruce Glasier and the Rev. W. Temple. A women's meeting was also held in the same hall on April 14, in connection with the Union of Democratic Control, when the basic principles of real peace and its foundation upon Woman Suffrage were again insisted upon. The Women's International Congress at The Hague on April 28, 29, and 30, which produced in a certain section of the Press the same misrepresentation and calumny as had been poured upon the militant Suffrage movement, took place without the greater number of British delegates, who were detained in England by a remarkable conjunction of naval operations, which suspended the traffic between this country and Holland for exactly the period of the Congress. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (on her way home from America), Miss Chrystal Macmillan, and Miss Courtney managed, however, to be present. The United Suffragists took no official part in any of these peace movements, holding the view that their organisation existed to win the vote for women, and that, failing the driving force of this political weapon, they could best help the Woman's Movement by continuing to fight for it.

Women and War Service

When the year opened, women were still in the normal position of the voteless in time of peace, eager to serve their country and obstructed at every point by a reactionary Government. But as the weeks went on, and the effect of enlistment upon industry, and especially upon munition-making, assumed grave proportions, the Government entirely changed their tune. The Prime Minister began to make allusions in his speeches to the duty of women, as of men, to serve their country in its hour of need; and the first practical indication of this tardy acknowledgment, that neither in peace nor war can the country's work be carried on without the help of women, appeared in a Board of Trade circular, issued on March 18, calling upon women, able and willing to work, to enrol themselves in a special Register for War Service, to enable the Government "to find out what reserve force of women's labour, trained or untrained, can be made available if required." At a meeting held in the Essex Hall, on the day that this circular appeared, the United Suffragists passed a strong resolution, calling upon the Government (1) to recognise the citizenship of the women whose help they were asking, and (2) to ensure that every woman who thus did a man's work should receive a man's pay. The speakers further pointed out at the meeting that there were already some 50,000 women out of work in the country, and that the dangers to an unenfranchised class of this vague appeal to women for labour, were excessive. Similar representations were made by other women's organisations all over the country.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

This was the beginning of an active campaign on the part of women for equal pay for equal work. We must refer our readers to Volume

VIII. of VOTES FOR WOMEN for the details of this campaign, which is still being waged as these pages go to press. An early incident was the Board of Trade Conference on April 13, at which Mr. Runciman received representatives of organised women (including Mrs. Ayrton Gould, on behalf of the United Suffragists), and announced the Government's intention to pay women on equal terms with men for piece-work—an intention which has only been fulfilled in part, and in any case covers only a minority of women workers, and which was at once attacked by the women present as being an absurdly insufficient guarantee that sweating would not take place. The Women's Co-operative Guild added to the demand for equal pay that of a minimum, that should be a living wage, for all unskilled women workers.

Women in New Occupations

Meanwhile, the undoubted needs of the country, and the generous patriotism of the women, had caused a great rush into new occupations on the part of those who did not wait for guarantees; and although in many cases the men's unions insisted successfully that the women should only be admitted on equal terms (as in the case of women tramway conductors, for instance), there were other employments in which, the women's work not being precisely the same as that of the men they replaced, the equal pay proviso could be evaded; and a good deal of underpayment has been the result. But women have succeeded in proving their capacity to be motor-drivers, engineers, plumbers, farriers, railway-women of all classes, post-women, Government clerks, ostlers, gardeners, and many other workers too numerous to be named. In their battle for equal rights with men they were supported by such Labour Leaders as Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. Robert Smillie, and others; and the joint Demonstrations of Suffragists and Trade Unionists, in the autumn, held in London (the Portman Rooms and Trafalgar Square) and in Bristol (during the Trade Union Conference) gave new life to the fight for women's enfranchisement.

From Appeal to Compulsion

From appeal to compulsion is but a step, and in the case of men's war service conscription was urged and opposed with increasing fervour as the year rolled away. We stated our position with regard to conscription in our leading article of August 17—"What Conscription Means to Women"—in which we pointed out that such a change in the disposition of men's lives could not justly be made without first consulting the women of the country. The *Nation* expressed this view as far back as January 16, when it said in a leading article that conscription, if forced upon the country, would set against enlistment "every woman who would demand a vote before her child, or other women's children, were forcibly entrained for foreign service." Compulsion in a military sense is still in abeyance on December 31; but on voteless women themselves it operated in the compulsory Register of men and women between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, taken on August 15. Although, at the time, there was a register of some 43,000 unemployed women at the Labour Exchanges, and another of 85,000 or so on the voluntary War Register of women, this further piece of "government without consent" was carried into effect against women for no obvious purpose save that of further emphasising the fact that, although women are not good enough to be registered as voters, they can be forced to register for war service. A considerable number of Suffragists suffered fine or imprisonment for refusing to fill up the registration form; the majority, we believe, used the form to send a message to the Government, demanding their political registration as electors.

Child Labour

One of the scandals of the year has been the increase of child labour. Before women's un-

doubted abilities as munition makers were recognised, large numbers of boys were employed (and still are being employed) both on day and night shifts in munition works. Women's labour in this department of Government work to some extent checked the evil in this direction; but in agriculture the preference of farmers for child labour to adult women's labour had still to be overcome, and it is here that the scandal has been most apparent. The Home Office and the Board of Trade declined on more than one occasion to give official sanction to the employment of children of school age, or to the lowering of the age at which children may become half-timers. But by leaving the matter to the local education committees, Government departments merely evaded their real responsibility; and in many counties, boys, and in some cases girls too, were released from school as young as twelve years of age, and even eleven. Other kinds of employment out of school hours have resulted, as at Kingston, last summer, in children of seven and nine arriving at school too sleepy to be taught; yet Mr. Jowett's demand in the House for a short Bill to safeguard the conditions of employment of school-children met with no encouragement from the Government. Perhaps the crowning instance of the overworking of school-children was contained in the announcement, last October, that the Kinghorn School Board had granted exemption certificates for the employment on night shifts, at the bottle works, of boys of thirteen.

Women and Drink

We have mentioned the Drink Order in force at the beginning of the year against women only. An attempt on the part of Mr. Lloyd George, after the Easter recess, to bring in a Drink Bill enforcing drastic restrictions against men also, met with a storm of opposition both inside and outside the House of Commons; and that Minister must have realised the irony of his position in being without the effective support of women, the temperate sex (whose claims to enfranchisement he had done so much to render abortive in the past), at a moment when it might have helped him to get his Bill through. As it was, he had to drop its more effective clauses; and it was only by means of Drink Orders in the various munitions districts, extending to London itself at the end of November, that drink restrictions in the case of men, as well as women, were finally brought about. It was probably owing to the opposition offered to this reform that recourse was had to the old, old way of blaming the woman in order to find a public excuse for controlling the man; and the last three months of the year witnessed a campaign in the Press and elsewhere, alleging an increase of drunkenness among women, which redounded to the credit of no one concerned, and was carried on in the face of definite pronouncements to the contrary from public men and women of the experience of Mrs. Bramwell Booth, the Commissioners of Prisons, and the President of the N.S.P.C.C. The campaign culminated in the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry into the matter, which is still sitting when these words are written. Whatever its findings may be, Suffragists will attach little importance to them unless they are reinforced by a similar inquiry into drinking among men.

The Thrift Campaign

Equally one-sided was the cry of thrift raised by the Government and the Press, as the increasing financial burden of the war made national economy necessary. From the leaflet issued to soldiers' wives by the Parliamentary War Savings Committee, urging them to save out of their separation allowances, to the perpetual appeals made to women in the public utterances of Ministers and in the newspapers, nearly all the efforts of the thrift campaigners were directed towards saving among women. Yet, according to the Board of Trade returns, the cost of living had risen 44 per cent. since the beginning of the war, and the chief burden of making every penny do the work of nearly two had already to be borne by the housewife, without any further demands upon her capacity for saving. This was pointed out re-

peatedly at Suffragist demonstrations, and in these columns, during the year; and the high prices of food formed the subject of deputations to Cabinet Ministers, on more than one occasion. A special protest against the new taxes on food in the Budget was made at the Trafalgar Square joint demonstration of Suffragists and Trade Unionists on September 26.

The Coalition Government

Parliament, which adjourned again on March 16, reassembled on April 14; and, a month later, a Coalition Government was formed by the addition of several Unionist Ministers to those already in power, and of Mr. Henderson as representative of Labour, while Lord Emmott, Lord Haldane, Mr. E. S. Montagu, Mr. Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Hobhouse left the Cabinet, Sir John Simon became Home Secretary in place of Mr. McKenna, who went to the Treasury, and Mr. Lloyd George became Minister of Munitions. This non-party Cabinet strengthened the demand of the United Suffragists for advantage to be taken of the unparalleled situation to pass a non-party measure of Woman Suffrage. At a meeting held by them in the Kingsway Hall on June 8 (at which a welcome was given to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on her return from the United States), the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

That this meeting, realising the extreme gravity of the present crisis, and recording its admiration of the gallant sacrifices that are being made by men and women, whose services are alike indispensable to the State, calls upon the Coalition Cabinet to demonstrate its non-party and national character, and inspire the whole country with new confidence by immediately recognising the citizenship of women, thus raising out of the present tragedy and destruction something that will help to construct a better world.

The speakers at this meeting, besides Mrs. Lawrence, were Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the Rev. Lewis Donaldson, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. It was followed up by a series of fortnightly discussion meetings at the Portman Rooms, dealing with problems arising out of the war, at which the speakers included Mr. Laurence Housman, Miss E. S. Roper, Mr. John Scurr, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Madeline Doty (Prison Commissioner of New York), Mr. Pethick Lawrence. In answer to a question in the House of Commons by Mr. Ginnell, two days after the Kingsway Hall meeting, Mr. Asquith said that the proposal to copy the example of Denmark in enfranchising her women was "a highly controversial question, which could not be dealt with at the present time."

Women Munition Workers

About this time the question of the wages and hours of women munition workers became acute, and continued to become more so right up to the end of the year. The Munitions Act passed in the early summer gave great powers over munition workers to the Government and other employers, which were naturally exercised with impunity in the case of voteless women workers; and scandals of overwork, both on day and night shifts, of underpayment to the extent of twopence and twopence-halfpenny an hour, of insult by foremen, and other grievances, rendered trebly hard by the provision of the Act forcing workers to remain with the same employer even if better conditions were offered them elsewhere, led to such continued protest on the part, not only of Suffrage organisations, but also of such bodies as the Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Trade Union League, and so on, that "recommendations" were issued on October 22 by the Munitions Ministry, appearing to secure to women in munition factories a minimum of £1 a week, when engaged on men's work. But, to begin with, these were only recommendations and not even suggested as compulsory except in Government factories (a very small proportion of the whole number of works engaged on the making of munitions); and in any case they applied only to the very small section of women whose work could be said to be exactly the same in every particular as that of the men whom they replaced. When the Munitions Amendment Bill was brought in by Mr. Lloyd George, in December, a clause

purporting to remedy the women's grievances was inserted, but, as we pointed out at the time, did not really leave them much better off, being far too vaguely worded to inspire them with any confidence as to its ultimate effectiveness. And this, although fulsome praise of their work, their efficiency, and their indispensable services to their country, were being poured out all the time by prominent politicians (including the Anti-Suffragist, Mr. Herbert Samuel), and in the columns of the newspapers!

The Autumn Session

The Autumn Session (Parliament, which adjourned for the summer holidays on July 29, had reassembled on September 14), besides being remarkable for the biggest Budget of modern times, for the passage of the Munitions (Amendments) Act, and for the operation of the most drastic Drink regulations we have yet known in this country, gave a fresh impetus to the Suffrage movement (so perseveringly kept going by a few of the Suffrage Societies, including the U.S.) by introducing and passing a Parliament and Registration Bill that has indirectly considerable bearing upon the future of women's enfranchisement. Before the adjournment in July, Mr. Long's Registration Bill, for postponing municipal elections and keeping in force the present Parliamentary Register "until Parliament provides for special registers to be made," attracted little attention except in the columns of VOTES FOR WOMEN, where it was at once pointed out that, by thus sweeping aside the Emergency Registration Act passed in August, 1914, this particular clause of the new Bill was probably intended to prepare the way for a more sweeping measure of franchise reform, and that it behoved Suffragists to be watchful.

The Parliament and Registration Bill

Our warning was justified in December, in the Government's Bill for the prolongation of Parliament, the safeguarding of the Plural Voting Bill (as contentious a measure as Woman Suffrage, by the way, and a party one into the bargain!), and for keeping the present electoral register in force, until others are substituted, was introduced. The danger to Suffragists lay, not in the Bill itself, but in the rumours which surrounded the forecasts of it, causing its introduction to be postponed again and again, and rousing Suffragists to make a united demand of the Prime Minister (expressed in a letter signed on behalf of thirteen Societies) that, if the franchise were to be dealt with at all, women's claims should be considered equally with men's. His reply, that the present Bill would not modify the existing franchise, did not have the effect of calming their apprehensions with regard to the future measure, foreshadowed by Sir John Simon in introducing the Bill, which the Government propose to present before the next General Election, in order to secure the votes of all men serving in the forces by shortening the residential qualification. This, as the *Manchester Guardian* promptly pointed out, would amount to something like manhood suffrage; and so the political year ends for Suffragists with the portent of a serious campaign ahead if women, who have done so much for their country during the war, are not to be left out of a Bill ostensibly intended to enfranchise men on a war service basis.

Signs of Progress in 1915

Although it has been a hard fight all through 1915 to maintain the honour of the woman's movement at a time when physical force seemed paramount, there is no doubt that some progress has been made in the position of women. The old cry of "Woman's Place is the Home," if raised (as Lord Lansdowne actually raised it in the House of Lords in December), can never again have any real weight. The old physical force argument can never again be advanced seriously by Anti-Suffragists who have seen women suffering side by side with men from the horrors of war and invasion and bombardment by aircraft. It can never again be said that women are incapable of doing hard manual toil, or of performing other branches of men's work. And, in addition to the influx

of women into most branches of industry, we have to record distinct advances made by women in the professions. Last July, the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society added to their charter the clause recommended by a large majority of the Fellows in February, enabling women to become Fellows of the Society—a great advance, which should be followed by the Royal and other learned Societies.

Women Doctors

In the medical profession, women have made great strides, both at home and at the front. Some numbers of women doctors have been given appointments in the Public Health service usually held by men; while one women's war hospital (that of the Women's Hospital Corps under the command of Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson) has been established as a military hospital, under the War Office, in Endell Street. In addition to this, the magnificent work done by the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and others officered entirely by women, in France and Serbia, has roused admiration on all sides, and the services of one of these units (organised by the N.U.W.S.S.) were commandeered in the autumn for the use of British wounded at Malta. The work of women doctors was rendered still more important in view of the alarming increase in infant mortality, which, in the first three months of the year, rose something like 50 per cent. in comparison with the same period last year, and has been all the year in excess of the rate for the same period last year. Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky did yeoman service for the babies in leading an agitation for making the Notification of Births Act compulsory, instead of permissive, which was actually accomplished by Parliament last July. Among Suffrage activities in this direction may be mentioned Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's baby clinics in the East End, and the Women's Freedom League Settlement at Nine Elms.

Suffrage Abroad in 1915

Amid the reactionary events of physical

strife, it is encouraging to record victories in the greater war of human progress. On June 5, the Royal Assent was given to the new Constitutional Law in Denmark, by which women were admitted to full political rights on an equality with men. On June 19, the King of Denmark ratified the Iceland Constitution Bill which was passed by the Parliament of that country in 1914, and which gave full Suffrage to the women of Iceland. In Holland, too, some advance has been made, and a Government Bill is now before the Dutch Parliament, which, if passed, will make it possible for Dutch women to be enfranchised. In Canada, such strides have been made in the Suffrage movement that Government Bills are to be introduced early in the New Year into the Parliaments of Alberta and Manitoba, while the Government of Saskatchewan is said to be on the point of following their example.

Suffrage in the United States

Although President Wilson and his party (Democratic) are not favourable to women's enfranchisement in the United States by means of the Federal Amendment to the Constitution, the debate on the Bill in the House of Representatives on January 13 (for the first time in twenty years) resulted in a defeat by a majority of only 204 votes to 174; and in December it was announced that President Wilson intended shortly to discuss with his Cabinet this method of enfranchising his countrywomen. Great progress was made locally throughout the year, in the first three months of which twelve out of fifteen States voted favourably on the question in their State Parliaments. In four of these—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the amendment was rejected at the Referendum in November, but with such large numbers in favour of the Bill that, taking into consideration the fact that they were all Eastern States, Suffragists felt no cause to be discouraged. The Federal Amendment was again introduced into Congress in the first week of December.

The Women's Club

The membership of the United Suffragists' Women's Club, which was founded at 92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E., in November, 1914, has steadily increased throughout the year, showing the need for such a club among the women workers of South London. An account of its activities may be found in the reports, written by the Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane, which appear weekly in VOTES FOR WOMEN. The function of the Club is mainly recreative; cheap and good meals may be obtained there; a Suffrage meeting is held every Tuesday evening, and a concert given every Thursday evening. The funds for the upkeep of the Club are entirely separate from those collected for the activities of the U.S., and have been raised by private subscriptions, or by public entertainments, such as the Morris Dancing entertainment kindly given by Miss Neal, last Easter, and the United Suffragists' Christmas Sale held in December.

Obituary

Death has taken so large a toll on the field of battle in 1915 that the rising death-rate in this country, from causes not unconnected with the war, has received less attention than it otherwise would. We have very sadly to record the passing away of many valued friends, workers, and sympathisers in the Woman's Movement. Among their names are those of Miss Braddon, Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Fanny Brough, Miss Florence Canning, Mrs. Ellen Cobden, Mrs. Percy Dearmer, Miss Grailly Hewitt, Lady Huggins, Miss Clara Mordan, Mrs. Jane Sharp, the Rev. Dr. Ambrose Shepherd, Dr. W. Fleming Phillips. Of the multitude of those who have given their lives in the war, both men combatants and women nurses, we cannot speak here. We can only end this brief survey of the year's happenings with a fervent hope that the reward of those who have died for liberty abroad and at home will be consummated in the coming year by the establishment of true freedom in our own country.

THE "ANTI" OF ALL THE NATIONS

A Suffrage Primer for Children—For Use in the Primary Grades of Suffrage Societies—
With Hard Words Syllabicated and Illustrations to render their Meanings Easy

With grateful acknowledgments to the "Woman's Journal" (Boston).

LESSON 1

See, my child, what we have before us. It is an Anti-Suffragette. What is she doing?



The Anti-Suffragette

She is arguing that lovely woman's sphere is the home. Yes, but why is she not at home instead of haranguing the men in public? Little children must not ask what

they cannot com-pre-hend. Now run along to bed.

LESSON 2

Observe this em-in-ent-ly respect-able citizen. His ancestors came hither in the May-flower. Let us pray.

He does not believe in the ballot for women.

For it would be too hasty an in-no-va-tion since the public is not educated enough.

Perhaps in three thousand years or so the thing may be fea-si-ble. Meanwhile, he would rather see other States ex-pe-ri-ment.

He is, in fact, du-bi-ous about this modern rad-i-ca-lism.

Has this citizen ever travelled West?

Only to Newton Lower Falls, my child, but he has read ex-ten-sive-ly the dreadful accounts of a lady recently returned from Colorado.



The Res-pect-able Citizen.

LESSON 3

We shall now have a lesson in civ-ics and gov-ern-ment. Do you re-cog-nize this gentleman? Yes, ma'am; he is the boss of Ward Forty-seven. Also he runs a saloon.

Does he vote?

Oh, yes, ma'am; often twice in the same place.

Does he believe that women should vote?

He does not.

Why not? Be con-cise.

Because he thinks the pur-ity of the female soul will be smirched by entering the "ran-co-rous arena of pol-i-tics."

But if, as he says, politics are bad, would not the admixture of pur-ity help clean them?

Run along now, my child, and play, lest you en-rage the gentleman with unpleasant questions.



The Plu-ral Voter.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane, Tel.: Hop 4172

We have had a very busy week at the Club. The members were so anxious not to miss their Suffrage meeting that Miss Sharp very kindly spoke on Tuesday. On Thursday Mrs. Schutze gave us a first-rate concert. She brought down four performers, and we had a most excellent programme. So many members came that they were obliged to sit on the stairs, as the room was overflowing. After the concert each member was given some holly and a pot of jam for Christmas, both the gifts of friends. Christmas Eve was a very busy day; it was spent doing up parcels for the children's stockings. Each parcel was tied up separately, and contained a Christmas card, a book, a toy, a cracker, and some sweets. With the help of Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Taylor, and Mrs. Morris nearly 100 parcels were packed ready for Santa Claus. Then in the evening, Mrs. White very kindly brought a friend to sing to us, and we had some Christmas carols. The Club was only closed on Christmas Day and Boxing Day, the members being so anxious to have it open until then, and the way they used it has shown us how much they appreciated having it open.

For the children's stocking presents Mrs. Gould collected £2 and Mrs. Delisle Burns 15s.

CHILDREN'S PARTY

We hope to hold our annual children's party, to which the grown-up relatives (Club members) of the children are invited, on Saturday afternoon, January 15. Last year the readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* greatly helped us by sending donations towards this treat. Will they do so again, and help to give an afternoon's keen pleasure to those who are otherwise going through a very sad time just now?

FROM OUR SOLDIER AND SAILOR FRIENDS

We have received several warm letters of thanks from the soldier and sailor relatives of our Club members to whom we despatched Christmas parcels. A stoker writes from his ship to thank us, saying that the presents "come in very handy, as we have only just come in from sea, and it has not been very comfortable at sea this last three weeks, but we must not grumble, as it has got to be done, so all we can do is to do it with a good heart."

Another stoker sends his thanks from his ship, saying that "the sweets were very nice indeed. I also think a lot of the handkerchiefs. To tell you the truth, it came as a great surprise to have such a parcel from an unknown friend."

A private writes from his camp in England, and

mentions the Christmas card particularly, which he means to keep as a memento; and a soldier with the British Expeditionary Force thanks "the members of your Club for their kindness, wishing them all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year and the best of health."

Thanks

We wish to thank the following:—Mr. Pethick Lawrence, two pictures; Mrs. Drinkwater, two pictures; Mrs. Allen, home-made cakes; Mrs. Richmond, 12 cot blankets; Mrs. White, holly, cakes, crackers, &c.; the Misses Horn, holly and mistletoe; Miss M. Jenkins, crackers; Miss Bullock, 7s. 6d.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS FUND

£	s.	d.	Miss L. Osborn	£	s.	d.
Already			0	0	3	
acknowledged	3	8	Mrs. Blackman	0	0	3
Mrs. Chalk			Miss M. May	0	0	3
(2nd subs.)	0	0	Mrs. West	0	1	0
Mrs. Hampshire	0	0				
Mrs. Simmonds	0	0				
				£3	10	7

CLUB FIXTURES

Tuesday, January 4; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker, Mrs. Whelen.
Saturday, January 15.—Children's party.

LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Isobel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road
By kind permission, Mr. Frank N. Eaton will read Dr. Stanley Mellor's address on "The Woman's Sacrifice—How Great its Worth," at the Suffrage Club on Thursday, January 6.

AMERSHAM AND CHESHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. C. Drinkwater.
"Fieldtop," Amersham-on-the-Hill

Members' thanks are due to the many good supporters of Women's Suffrage who so kindly gave their autographs for our stall at the U.S. Christmas Sale at the Central Hall, Westminster. Other contributors were Mesdames Barry, Edgeworth, Derry, Gibbons, Jackson, Macmillan, Waltham, Wright, Weaver, and Walker.

On the first day of the Sale the Misses Colenso and Miss A. V. Crovo (the latter in Circassian costume) held the table with autographs and five-minute drawing competitions. Hiawatha Coleridge-Taylor signed postcard pictures of pet animals which had been photographed by Miss Crovo to advertise *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Miss Phyllis Macmillan made a charming Highlander. On the second day of the Sale Mrs. Weaver was in charge of the stall, with

the help of Mrs. Jackson, and proved an ideal saleswoman. The Misses Gibbons, Keats, Macmillan, Stocken, and Walker did all possible to sell their wares. Mr. Jackson, who never fails, spent several hours helping us. Considering the expenses connected with our stall at the U.S. Christmas Sale and the hard times ahead of the would-be buyers, we may say we had great success.

Drawing Competition Result

The first prize was won by Miss Irene Walker, of Beaconsfield; the second by the Rev. Frank Dardis, of Chesham, Mrs. Ayrton Gould's drawing of a pig being highly commended. Chorley Wood members, please accept grateful thanks for useful articles of clothing.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to December 21, 1915

£	s.	d.	Miss S. E. Kirby	£	s.	d.
Already acknow-			James Leakey,			
ledged	1,941	6	Esq.	0	2	6
Anon	2	0	Mrs. M'Call	2	2	0
H. S. Chatfield,			Mrs. Maitland	1	1	0
Esq.	0	5	Mrs. K. M.	0	5	0
Miss A. Edwards	0	2	Ratcliffe	0	10	0
Extra on VOTES			Miss D. Rcek	0	5	0
(per Mrs.			Mrs. M. S.			
Masters)	0	0	Sanderson	0	10	0
Major H. J.			Miss Evelyn			
Gillespie	5	0	Sharp	1	1	0
Misses E. and J.			Miss Symonds	0	2	0
Gulland	0	5	Mrs. Whipp	0	10	0
"G. Z. and M."	0	5				
Miss H. Halked	0	5				
"A Housewife"	0	10				
"In Memoriam,						
J. A. S."	3	3				
				£1,959	11	8

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to December 21, 1915

£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	309	3
Miss Burke	0	10
Per Miss Cochrane—		
Club Receipts	1	9
V. E. Macpherson, Esq.	0	10
Miss H. Halked	0	5
Miss Hickey	0	7
Per Miss Hickey—		
Miss Champness	0	6
Miss Page	0	5
Mrs. M. S. Sanderson	0	10
Mrs. Whipp	0	10
	£313	16

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Ill-Treating a Wife

The *Morning Advertiser* (November 26) reports case of a man summoned before Mr. Biron at Lambeth Police Court for assaulting his wife. He hit her with a boot brush, punched her, and kicked her, because she asked him for money.

Sentence: Bound over.

Assault on a Mother

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 4) reports case of a youth of 17, charged at Marylebone Police Court with assaulting his mother. The assaults had been going on for some time. After hearing the evidence, the magistrate said his conduct was that of an unmitigated young brute.

Sentence: Twenty-one days' imprisonment.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Treating Her!

The *Times* (December 16) reports case of a man summoned before the Bench at Bristol for treating his wife to intoxicating liquor.

Sentence: Fined 9s.

Theft of £3 Worth of Clothes

The *Morning Advertiser* (December 20) reports case of a labourer charged before the Bench at Stratford with breaking into a house and stealing wearing apparel to the value of £3. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

AN "ALIEN ENEMY."

In our issue of November 26 we commented on the particularly pathetic case of a kitchenmaid, an alien enemy who had failed to notify her address to the police, and was therefore sent to prison for a month in the second division. Her defence was that she had to change her address very often, because when people found out she was a foreigner they made it impossible for her to remain where she was. The magistrate, Mr. Mead, admitted that she had "no improper motives" for her conduct, and said he was ready to extend her his sympathy. In the result, however, sympathy or no sympathy, the poor woman

has had to go to prison, and we do not imagine that her difficulties in finding employment will be decreased by the circumstance. We hear from the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians in Distress (169, St. Stephen's House, Westminster Bridge, S.W.), who have done so much for cases of this kind since war broke out, that the woman has been visited in prison by permission of the authorities, and that "her case is under the care of a Catholic lady visitor, who is making arrangements for the woman on her discharge."

The Hon. Secretary, who sends us this information, adds: "Her state of health is said to be such as to prevent

her returning to work when the sentence expires. It seems to be a pitiful case." We cannot help thinking that the magistrate, who admitted the woman's harmlessness, might have found some other way than imprisonment of punishing her carelessness, consistent with the public safety.

OVERSEAS INTERCESSION

To-day (Friday) is being set apart by women in the Dominions Overseas as a day of prayer "for enlightenment in the present fearful World-crisis"; and a special intercessory service will be held in the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, London, on the same day (December 31), at 6 p.m., at which the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman will give a short address. At 8 a.m. a celebration of Holy Mass will be held (by kind permission of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop Butt) in St. James's Church (Spanish Place, Manchester Square, W.). Any other particulars, if desired, may be had from Miss Harriet C. Newcomb, c/o The International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

A BOOT AND SHOE SALE

Economise as we may where luxuries are concerned, boots and shoes must always be bought; and the winter sale at Messrs. Hanan-Gingell's, which begins next Monday at 328-332, Oxford Street, is one that will be, therefore, well worth visiting. There are some genuine reductions; brown glacé Langtry shoes, usually 18s. 9d., are offered at 10s., for instance, and the very comfortable calfskin walking shoes, either black or brown, which are generally 21s. 9d., will be reduced

next week to 16s. 9d. Patent leather boots with cloth tops may be had for 19s. 6d., and strong service boots with double soles for 35s. and 27s. An attractive and inexpensive item is the 10-button black cloth gaiter, offered at the moderate price of 2s. 6d. per pair.

CHOICE FRUIT

FOR THE

WOUNDED

CALIFORNIAN APPLES. Cases containing about 40-lbs.

Each, 13/6, 12/6, 11/6 and 10/6.

OREGON NEWTOWNS. Cases containing about 40-lbs.

Each, 20/-, 17/6 and 15/6.

NOVA SCOTIA. In barrels of about 120-lbs.

Each, from about 32/- down to 18/-.

MURCIA ORANGES. Cases containing about 300 oranges.

Each, 9/6.

Cases containing about 420 oranges.

Each, 17/6.

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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 1s. 6d., 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy. Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights, from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Managers, 4788 Gerrard.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.; Xmas week, 35s.—Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHELSEA.—To Let furnished, artist's small flat, prettily decorated; bed, sitting, kitchen, linen, silver; suit one lady, 25s.—Write J. P., 288, King's Road, Chelsea.

EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE.—Lessons in Singing, Voice Production, Diction. Visits Brighton, Winchester weekly; West End Studio.—153, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, London, S.W.

LADIES' MOTOR SCHOOL.—The theory and practice of motor-ing efficiently taught by lady and gentlemen instructors. Learn to "tune up" your own car.—2, St. Mary Abbott's Place, Kensington, W. Tel.: Western 2642.

MISS YVONNE ALTON, Coreograph of Madame Gina Cannès, of the Scala of Milan, is opening dancing classes. Terms very moderate.—Write The Studio, Messrs. Cramer, High Street, Kensington.

MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Letchworth.—Principal, Miss Cartwright, M.A.; staff includes specialists and University graduates; pupils prepared for professional entrance examinations; bracing moorland air; home comforts.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O.—Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir.—"The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

THE MOTOR SERVICE COMPANY, 6B, Lonsdale Road, Kilburn (3 mins. Queen's Park Station). Recommended by women for women. Fees from £3 3s.

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WHY KEEP USELESS JEWELLERY? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity. Licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone 2086 North. All parcels, offer or cash by return of post.

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SUPPORT WOMEN PRINTERS.—Printing of all descriptions undertaken at the Holland Press, 47A, Earl Court Road, W. Best work and moderate prices.

WHITE ART LINEN REMNANTS, lengths from 1/2 yard, suitable for Drawn Thread work, Afternoon Tea Cloths, &c., only 5s. per bundle; postage 4d. Catalogue free!—Write HUTTON'S, 167, Larne, Ireland.

PROFESSIONAL.

TO GIRLS seeking a useful and attractive calling. Anstey College for Physical Training and Hygiene, Erdington, Warwickshire, offers a full teachers' training in physical culture, including Swedish educational and medical gymnastics, dancing in all its branches, indoor and outdoor games, swimming, hygiene, anatomy, physiology, &c. Good posts obtained after training.

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UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone 5880 Holborn. Colours: Purple, White, and Orange.

OBJECT:—To secure a Government measure to give women the Vote on equal terms with men.

Membership Card

The United Suffragists:

- (1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.
- (2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.
- (3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

There is no fixed subscription or entrance fee, but members are relied upon to support the Society to the best of their ability.

Membership is open to everyone who endorses the object of this Society, irrespective of membership of any other Society, militant or non-militant.

I wish to join the United Suffragists, whose object I approve.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss)

Please write clearly.

Address

Fill in the above Form and post it to—

Hon. Sec., United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

To the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN,

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

Please insert the undermentioned Advertisement in VOTES FOR WOMEN for Insertions to

be published for which I enclose the sum of £ s.

Date Name Address

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